2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us . . . we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours . . . We are helpless. You must help us.' Such is the Kota version. In response a council of Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas allowed the Badagas to settle provided they paid the now-customary tributs to these tribes (Harkness, 1832, 106–107; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 735–754; Rhiem, 1900, 498; Emeneau, 1946, 257; see below, 113–116). Not all Badagas migrated within a generation or two, and while some may have been fleeing from Moslem soldiers other bands came later for other reasons.

Clearly there were several waves of immigrants brought sometimes by famine conditions, sometimes by Moslem attempts at forcible conversion, sometimes perhaps by a Mysorean policy to colonize the hills. The Kotas are explicit that once a few Badagas had arrived more came over the succeeding years (Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 3; Emeneau, 1946, 259). The early explorers Ward (1821) and Harkness (1832) both recorded that the people had settled over many years, and Ward added that some had been 'invited' there by the chieftains of Ummattu:r, under whose suzerainty the Nilgiris had rested for a period. This story suggests that some Badagas, refugees from famine rather than Islam, had settled in the hills as part of a pacification programme aimed at increasing the revenue there.[10] Others, it is popularly believed, fled from Moslem rulers who wanted to marry or seduce good-looking Hindu girls. In search of refuge from this threat they travelled up to 150 km. On reaching the hills the women were given facial tattoos and dressed in white cloths (as they still are) to resemble Kota women, while men adopted the Toda shawl for greater warmth: in effect a conscious and lasting attempt was made to resemble the hill tribes and to adopt a tribal model of social organization.[11]

The early pattern of occupancy was one of scattered homesteads in widely separated parts of the plateau. These clusters of small wooden huts grew into lineage centres and so into villages, usually maintaining strict exogamy. Until the advent of *Pax Britannica* in the early nineteenth century, the houses were built around three sides of a plaza, with its open side facing downhill for defensive purposes. Today only De:na:du preserves that plan; the other villages, of which there are about 370, are made up of several parallel lines of houses running along a hillside. Traditionally the senior brother among the patrilineal descendants of the founder

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Table 6. Causes of Death Among 240 Badagas, 1892-1921

AGE-GROUP	FEVER	DYSENTERY	TUBERCULOSIS	CONVULSIONS	WEAKNESS OF OLD AGE	PNEUMONIA	LIVER OR KIDNEY	BRONCHITIS	INFLUENZA	WHOOPING-COUGH	TYPHOID	MEASLES	STROKE	MISCARRIAGE PREMATURE	PUERPERAL FEVER	BURNS	CHICKEN-POX	SMALLPOX	MALARIA	JAUNDICE	LEPROSY	PARALYSIS	CARBUNCLE	STARVATION	OPIUM SUICIDE	total by age
0-5 years																										65/62
6-15 "																										14/10
16-25 "																										7/17
26-35 "																										7/10
36-45 "																										5/5
46-55 "																										1/5
56-65 "																										7/3
66-75 "																										3/7
76-85 "																										3/4
86-95 "																										2/1
totals:	19/27	18/15	9/18	10/9	14/10	10/7	7/7	4/9	2/9	6/1	3/2	4/1	3/	1/2	-/2	1/1	1/	/1	/1	1/	/1	/1	/1	1/	/1	14/

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Note : Underlined numerals represent females; *N-126*)

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 Kannada-speaking and until fifty years ago continued to intermarry with the Lords of Ummattu:r.[43]

Hatra Ko:ṭe

Hatra Ko:ṭe otherwise known as Udaiya Raya Ko:ṭe or simply Atra, and nowadays called Ko:ṭe Ha:ḍa ('fort terrace'), has been described elsewhere (Congreve, 1847, 121-122; Francis, 1908, 333-334; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 105-106) and needs little discussion here. It lies seven kilometers southeast of Kotagiri, on a terrace in Burnside Estate where no traces of the building and few of the moats can now be found. Badaga tradition suggests that Udaiya Raya, a Shaivite chieftain, also built the fort on the plains at Kollandore, near Sirumuge in Coimbatore District (Congreve, 1847, 122; Francis, 1908, 333-334). He conquered all of the Poraṅga:ḍu villages and won from them an annual tribute of 700 gold coins. This Poraṅga:ḍu revenue passed through these two forts to Ummattu:r, while only the Todana:ḍu tribute was collected at Male Ko:ṭe. Hatra Ko:ṭe was captured by Haidar Ali in the late eighteenth century and was also occupied by a Moslem garrison under his son Tippu. At that time it bore the name Syyudabad, and the hundred soldiers there under a captain (a *killidar*) named Ali Khan were responsible to a commander at Dannaika Ko:ṭe in the plains below (Harkness, 1832, 126; Macleane, 1893, 1023). Here, as at Male Ko:ṭe, the garrison was 'to keep the mountaineers in check and also to assist the Sultan's servants in collecting the yearly revenue' (Ward, 1821, lxv).

175 167 To summarize our conclusions briefly, the migrations from Mysore in all probability began by the start of the sixteenth century and became more intensive during the anarchy that followed the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire (1565). The question of when immigration ceased depends on two items of historical evidence: Finicio saw some Badagas at Me:lkunda in 1603, and scarcely any new villages have been established since the British arrived in 1819.[45] The answer thus lies between these two dates, and we conclude that before 1819 the Badagas had formed a closed community. The absence of any Vaishnavites among them favours the earlier dating for the termination of their migrations.[46] What led to their ultimate synoecism as a single community we can only guess.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

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Place-Names and Cultural Ecology

A NEW SYSTEM OF THERAPY

167 175 The Badagas thus came to the Nilgiri Plateau as refugees and settled there on land that in part they cleared from virgin tropical montane forest and that was in part granted them by a council of men from the indigenous Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes, people who had already occupied a thin scattering of hamlets on the hills for perhaps a millennium.

175 161 The Badagas can thus be seen, at least in the first three centuries of their occupation, as frontiersmen whose population and number of settlements were slowly increasing over the decades. In 1603 there were only about 500 Badagas living in three villages (Heinrich, 1603, 723). By the first British census, in 1812, they numbered 2207 people. But at this time, to judge by the same rough census (which perhaps excluded children), they had already become the numerically dominant community in the area: the Todas numbered only 179 (compared with possibly 1000 in 1603), and the Kotas 130; the Kurumbas and Irulas, two tribes living on the lower Nilgiri slopes, were not counted at all, though they were certainly there.

175 361 Furthermore, during this same period of two centuries the Badaga settlement pattern became such a dispersed one that their hamlets increased in number from three to over 350. This expansion was in part the effect of fertile land being available and in part the result of an effective indigenous therapeutic system.

175 By the time of the first British visits, the Badagas had clearly

000 In 1951 the total population of the District numbered 311,729; and by 1961 it had risen to 409,308 -- a massive increase of 32% in a decade, attributable to the high rate of local immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths.

177 In summary, therefore, while the Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas are all tiny communities when compared with the numbers of Badagas, the Badagas in turn are now greatly outnumbered by settlers who have recently arrived from all parts of the Southern Indian plains.

The Badagas

161 Until the recent influx of these laborers, the Badagas were the preponderant community in the Nilgiris. Today they number a little under 100,000, and occupy nearly 400 hamlets dotted across the District.

101 The word Badaga (more correctly Baduga) means "Northerner" in their dialect of the Kannada language, and was presumably first used as a name for them when they became an immigrant community among the tribal groups already 174 established in the Nilgiri Hills. Their origin is clearly traceable to the plains of Southern Mysore, which lie just to the north of the Nilgiris. Badaga traditions indicate that they arrived as small parties of refugees over a period of several hundred years. Because some of the earliest of these settlers were of the Lingayat faith when they arrived it is only reasonable to suppose that they left Mysore after the founding of the Lingayat sect ca. 1160 A.D. That there were a few Bad- 175 aga villages in the hills by the year 1602 is known from the account of the Nilgiris •167 sent to his superior by Father Fenicio (Fenicio 1603). But as many Badagas still speak about their ancestors having fled from the terrors of Tippu Sultan's reign in Mysore (1786-1799), there is also good ground for supposing that the last of the Badaga migrants did not reach the Nilgiris until the end of the 18th Century

175 (Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is
•[167] known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report
mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 346-47). They have been consoli-
dated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Mac-
178 pherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-
cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups
there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation
as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we
101 191 can say that the Badagas were Kanarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the
Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated
into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

433 Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-
and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 321;
Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the
habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration
241 [657] wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they
gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which
24 439 they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1864: 153-54). Since 1957 a series
of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn
more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold
locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied
by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for
them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or
coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

262 000 Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

614 Lingayats (although since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the lingam again).

574 614 Adikaris, like Kapakkas, admit Haruvas, Kaggusis, and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals; (Wodeyas refuse to eat with them, however); Gaudas and Toreyas may only eat in the outer room, and members of the other tribes are not allowed past the entrance door. Adikaris and Kapakkas eat only at the houses of Haruvas and Wodeyas, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes.

614 The Kapakkas, although now agriculturists like all other Badagas, once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg 1880: 221). Their name means "accountant", and is generally taken to indicate that some of their forefathers acted as village accountants when a ruler in the Coimbatore Plains, probably the East India Company, became powerful enough to demand the levy of taxes. Although the Kapakkas are Lingayats, and today have a status equal with that of the Adikaris, there are many Badagas who will whisper darkly that originally the Kapakkas were not Kanarese at all, but Tamilians. The Kapakkas themselves would not own to this, since experience with the Madras Government officials has led nearly all Badagas to despise the Tamilian but to be more charitably inclined toward the Mysorean; still, it may well be true that the Kapakkas were Gaundans, an agricultural caste from the Coimbatore Plain, who were brought to the Nilgiris because they knew how to write (Grigg 1880: 221). My discovery of some 500 palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in two Kapakka hamlets lends support to this belief. These leaves were written two to four centuries ago in a script and language close to modern Tamil. Some of the texts are devotional in character, but many are the exercises of tyro scribes. The leaves are now treasured as the sacred writings

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